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ORIGIN AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01
	P-01	RP-10	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	TRSE-00	T-01
	USIE-00	/057R					

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O 161425Z NOV 92

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY HARARE PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 372050

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL PGOV AORC MOPS OAU RW TZ

SUBJECT: ARUSHA V - THE TANZANIANS LOOK AT THE NEXT ROUND

REF: (A) 92 KIGALI 4680, (B) 92 DAR ES SALAAM 6458,

(C) 92 KIGALI 4614

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(NOTE: CABLE IS BEING REPEATED DUE TO NON-RECEIPT IN DAR.)

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: WHILE WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE CONTINUING TANZANIAN INTEREST IN RESOLVING THE RWANDAN CONFLICT, WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING AN INTERVENTIONIST APPROACH AT THIS POINT. CHURCH LEADERS ARE FACILITATING THE INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS AND WE NEED TO ALLOW MORE TIME FOR COMPROMISES AND SOLUTIONS TO EMERGE TO THE KEY PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT PORTFOLIOS AND REFORM OF THE TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION. CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE PARTIES MAY BE MOST USEFUL AT THE NEXT ROUND OF ARUSHA TALKS, BUT A SUMMIT MEETING, INCLUDING KAGAME AND THE PRIME MINISTER, SHOULD PROBABLY WAIT UNTIL SOME AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUES. THE USG IS CONTINUING ITS INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH BOTH THE GOR AND THE RPF PRIOR TO THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS, AND WE WELCOME SIMILAR TANZANIAN INVOLVEMENT. THE GOR MAY FLOAT WITH THE

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TANZANIANS AN IDEA TO CHANGE THE ORDER OF ARUSHA TALKS TO BEGIN WITH MILITARY INTEGRATION. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE TANZANIANS IN THE NEXT WEEK, EMBASSY MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING IDEAS AMBASSADOR FLATEN HAS ALREADY DISCUSSED WITH THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA. END SUMMARY.

PARTY CONSULTATIONS IN ARUSHA

4. THE TANZANIAN OFFER OF ARUSHA AS A NEUTRAL VENUE FOR A MEETING OF THE RWANDAN PARTIES WITH THE RPF TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES MAY BE VERY HELPFUL ONCE SOME AGREEMENT EMERGES FROM THE INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE FM BELIEVES THAT THE RPF AGREED TO MEET WITH THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ON A CONSULTATIVE BASIS AS LONG AS ANY PROPOSALS OR CONCLUSIONS ARE CONFIRMED BY SUBSEQUENT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOR AND THE RPF (REF A).

5. IF TANZANIA IS OFFERING TO COVER THE COSTS, THIS OPTION WOULD CERTAINLY BE CHEAPER AND EASIER THAN SENDING EVERYONE TO BRUSSELS AS PROPOSED EARLIER BY THE OPPOSITION PARTIES. THE CONSULTATIONS COULD TAKE PLACE IN ARUSHA, PERHAPS FOLLOWING THE NEXT ROUND OF POLITICAL TALKS OR SIMULTANEOUS WITH THE TALKS ON INTEGRATION OF THE SECURITY

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FORCES.

SUMMIT MEETING

6. A SUMMIT MEETING IN TANZANIA MIGHT ALSO BE WORTHWHILE,
BUT AT A LATER DATE WHEN MOST OF THE DETAILS OF THE
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PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT. DUE TO LEAKS ABOUT THE
SUMMIT PLANNED RECENTLY, HABYARIMANA FELT CONSTRAINED TO
STATE THAT HE WAS NOT INTERESTED IN SUCH A MEETING NOW.
AN EVEN BETTER IDEA MIGHT BE TO HOLD A SUMMIT MEETING THAT
INCLUDES KAGAME AND PM NSENGIYAREMYE.

PRE-NEGOTIATIONS CONSULTATIONS

7. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE TANZANIANS TO CONTINUE THEIR
HELPFUL FACILITATOR ROLE AND TO MEET WITH KAGAME AND
KANYARENGWE BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS. NORTH
AMERICAN RPF REPRESENTATIVE DUSAIDI CALLS FREQUENTLY TO
DISCUSS IDEAS WITH DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS, AND WE CONTINUE
TO PROVIDE TACTICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE HELP TO BOTH SIDES.

8. THE FORMULA FOR DISTRIBUTION OF CABINET PORTFOLIOS WAS
NOT AGREED TO IN ARUSHA AND REOPENED AS SUGGESTED BY
MPUNGWE (PAR 6 REF B). ON THE CONTRARY, BLOCKAGE OVER
THIS ISSUE WAS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THE TALKS WERE
SUSPENDED. CONSIDERATION IS STILL BEING GIVEN IN KIGALI
TO THE PROPOSAL OF SEPARATING CABINET PORTFOLIOS INTO 3
TIERS--SECURITY, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL--AND THEN DETERMINING
DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE PARTIES AND THE RPF.

RPF THINKING

9. IN A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH LEGAL ADVISER JOHN
BYERLY NOVEMBER 12, DUSAIDI ASKED THAT THE USG PASS THE
MESSAGE THAT THE RPF IS GETTING "IMPATIENT" THAT NOTHING
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IS HAPPENING WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS. (COMMENT: THE RPF HAS HINTED IN THE PAST THAT IT HAS HAD SOME DIFFICULTY IN EXPLAINING TO ITS TROOPS WHY THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TAKING SO LONG AND WHY THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN RECENT WEEKS. END COMMENT.) BYERLY POINTED OUT THAT SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ARE INDEED UNDERWAY INTERNALLY AND THAT THE RPF NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE ITS BEST ALLIES.

10. WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT PORTFOLIOS, BYERLY ENCOURAGED THE RPF TO CONSIDER CREATIVE SOLUTIONS WHILE CONCENTRATING NEGOTIATIONS OVER KEY MINISTRIES (DEFENSE, INTERIOR) AND LOOKING AT DEPUTY POSITIONS TO IMPROVE THE BALANCE. HE COUNSELED THE RPF TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY ABOUT MEETING WITH THE PARTIES.

11. ON THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ISSUE, DUSAIDI REPEATED HIS PREVIOUS IDEA THAT EACH OF THE MAJOR PARTIES BE GIVEN 5 SEATS AND THAT MINOR PARTIES BE GIVEN 2. BYERLY ENCOURAGED HIM TO LOOK SERIOUSLY AT THE BLOCKING THIRD IDEA WITH A RELATIVE BALANCE BETWEEN THE MRND BLOCK, THE RPF BLOCK, AND A MIDDLE SWING GROUP. HE ALSO STRESSED THE WISDOM OF INCLUDING THE CDR IN THE GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN RUNNING THE RISK OF CREATING A PERMANENT OPPOSITION BY EXCLUDING THEM. ONE OPTION WOULD BE TO REQUIRE ALL MEMBERS OF THE CND TO SIGN A DOCUMENT FORESWEARING ETHNICITY AND RENOUNCING VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM.

12. FINALLY, ON THE TRANSITION, DUSAIDI NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE RPF HAD INITIALLY INSISTED ON FOUR YEARS, IT WAS NOW CONSIDERING 2-3 YEARS. IN FACT, HE ADMITTED THAT

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IF THE REFUGEE ISSUE IS RESOLVED, ONE AND ONE HALF YEARS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR ALL REFUGEES TO RETURN BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD ENDED.

ARUSHA V

13. AMBASSADOR FLATEN REPORTED NOVEMBER 13 THAT THE GOR MAY RECOMMEND A CHANGE IN THE ORDER OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR ARUSHA V, STARTING NOVEMBER 23 WITH THE ISSUE OF INTEGRATION OF THE SECURITY FORCES, FOLLOWED BY ONE WEEK ON REFUGEES AND ONE WEEK ON THE POLITICAL TOPICS. FLATEN INDICATED THAT THIS MIGHT BE A SENSIBLE CHANGE AND URGED

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PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER RUHAGIRA TO TAKE THIS IDEA UP WITH THE TANZANIANS AND ALLOW THEM TO MANAGE THE PROPOSAL TO THE RPF. (COMMENT. THE RPF HAS STUBBORNLY REFUSED TO MIX THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ISSUES IN THE PAST, DESPITE ENCOURAGEMENT BY VARIOUS OBSERVERS THAT SUCH A MIX MIGHT BE USEFUL TO BREAK LOGJAMS. END COMMENT.)
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